# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*


British Appeasement of the Arabs - - - - - - - - - *Taraknath Das*

Toward a New Earth - *Tracy D. Mygatt*

War - - - - - - - *Robert Whitaker*

Leadership Resources in the Local Church - - - - - - - *Gladys Roberts Hilton*

The World's Fair—What Is It Worth? - - - - - - - - - *John Haynes Holmes*



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# UNITY

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## *Contents*


EDITORIAL—

Notes ..... 115
Jottings—J. H. H. ..... 117

ARTICLES—

British Appeasement of the Arabs—TARAKNATH DAS ..... 118
Toward a New Earth—TRACY D. MYGATT ..... 120
War—ROBERT WHITAKER ..... 121
Leadership Resources in the Local Church—GLADYS ROBERTS HILTON ..... 122
The World's Fair—What Is It Worth?—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 124

STUDY TABLE—

The Resurrection of the Toltecs—CHARLES A. HAWLEY ..... 127

CORRESPONDENCE—

Sunderland Memorial—JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP ..... 128

THE FIELD—

Poets Leave Ivory Towers ..... 114
The Peace Army—Josephine M. Cozens, *Friends Intelligencer* .. 128
Summer Program in Community Church, Town Hall, New York 128


## The Field

***"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."***

### Poets Leave Ivory Towers

Reaffirming the Poets' Peace Pledge binding them never to write poems glorifying international war, the Fourth Annual Western Poets' Congress declared "war of the spirit against Fascism in this country and abroad" and a campaign "to overthrow the Ivory Tower and the Tower of Babel and to capture the Holy Land of art for all mankind." More than five hundred poets participated in the sessions which started in Pasadena on April 22nd and ended at the Wistaria Fete in Sierra Madre, April 24th, re-electing Ralph Cheyney and Lucia Trent as president and vice-president.

A vote of censure was passed on poets who "write anti-social, futilitarian, nostalgic, cynical or Fascist poems," poets were called upon to "stop contributing to periodicals that oppose extensions of democracy," and the poets were definitely ranged throughout the Congress on the side of woman and labor and "a classless, fearless society." Other resolutions were passed supporting pending anti-lynching legislation, the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, censuring the Dies Committee except Jerry Voorhis, calling on this nation again to become the asylum for political refugee heroes fleeing from Fascist lands, and demanding that adult education programs be planned "not merely to please Chambers of Commerce by helping create a serf class of more efficient employees" but to help "create a socially-conscious, spiritually-awakened, democratic humanity." UNITY was named twice, once with gratitude for promoting and again in endorsing a peace press.

"Be it resolved," one resolution read, "that we poets pledge ourselves as workers in rhyme not to rest content until all peoples rhyme with each other in peace fortified by freedom and justice, as wielders of rhythm to strive to raise all lives to vibrate with the Best Life—freed from want, worry, war and waste—and as masters of imagination to thwart destructive forces and replace acquisitive by creative.

"Realizing the fact that abundance of leisure and luxury for every living soul and unquestionable security not only of life, limb and liberty but also of food, fun, and faith for all are essential to poetry's greatest advance," the assembled poets, some of whom came from as far as Minnesota, demanded that "the world guarantee this assurance of abundance" and declared, "we endorse every peaceful step toward its fulfillment."

At the Poets' Luncheon a Jew and an Aframerican read poems expressing their races' aspirations, a scholar spoke of Latin-American poetry and Pan-American unity, a woman read a poem of tribute to pickets. Anti-war poems were displayed at the meeting hall and many of these were published in the local press. "The poets' own war against Fascism fought with the poets'

(*Continued on page* 128)

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

Volume CXXIII MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1939 No. 8

### WHAT IS CIVILIZATION?

**"The Indians were full of adages—simple ones, easy for anyone to make up, such as 'The way to cross a lake is to cross it,' or 'The way to get bear meat is to kill a bear,' or 'The way to live in peace with others is to live at peace with them.'**

**"I was slow in realizing that these adages had a value despite their simplicity. By constantly repeating them, the Indians encouraged sensible behavior; whereas more civilized peoples, who consider themselves superior to such simple sayings, forget how to be sensible. They are forever trying to live in peace with others by spreading false rumors or taking advantage of neighbors; attempting to kill bears or cross lakes by holding windy discussions with persons who never killed a bear or crossed a lake. Thus civilized peoples, in many ways, are less civilized than Indians."**

KENNETH ROBERTS in *Rabble in Arms.*

### THE BALANCE OF POWER AGAIN

Let who will get satisfaction out of the present alignment of powers in Europe. We cannot! It all means war to us—this forming of armed alliances for the alleged purpose of keeping the peace. What paralyzes us is the identity between the present situation and that just preceding the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The comparison is almost incredible in its details. A generation ago, it was the so-called German aggression which was upsetting the world. The Kaiser was seeking colonies—just as the Fuehrer is now. He was entering upon a naval race with Britain—just as Hitler has done in cancelling his naval agreement with Britain. The Kaiser was pressing eastward to Bagdad—just as the Nazi chieftain is pressing eastward to the Ukraine and beyond. The Kaiser was everywhere defying France and England, and blocking their imperial policies, and breathing forth threatenings and slaughter—just as Hitler is now. To stop German aggression, Britain began her encirclement policy—which she has now begun again. She organized a Triple Entente with France and Russia against Germany, in which the Czar's Russia was as incongruous a partner as Stalin's Russia is today in the new Triple Entente now being established. Over against this Entente in the old days was the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy—precisely duplicated now in the military alliance just consummated between Hitler and Mussolini. Behind every diplomatic and military move a generation ago was the feverish arming of the powers—which is again now going on, on an unprecedented scale. What happened as a consequence of all these events in 1914 was the World War. That terrific cataclysm followed upon what had gone before "as the night the day." Since the night is still following the day, what can now prevent the next war following in the same fashion upon what is now going on? There are other forces of course at work today, notably the will of the peoples everywhere against war. But the diplomats and statesmen of all countries, including our own, are certainly doing all they can to set the stage for conflict.

### THE WAR POISON

What it means to live in the war atmosphere of these days is illustrated again and again in all kinds of trivial episodes. One wonders if we shall ever be reasonable creatures again, or be rid of fears, suspicions, and hates. Nothing is natural any more; everything is warped, distorted, and vicious. Especially evident is the mania of seeing "the enemy" in all accidents, tragedies, and corruptions which affect the nation and the world. This is the root of anti-Semitism—that the Jews are responsible for every ill. But it is also the root of 100 per cent Americanism in this age of war-infection. For example, a submarine sinks off the coast of New Hampshire. It is a perfectly commonplace accident in the case of a mechanism so delicate and dangerous that the hazard of death is constant in the submarine service. In this case it is obvious that a valve was left open by a careless seaman, or was jammed as the result of some fault or break. Yet within a few hours of the tragedy, the newspapers were talking about "sabotage." The Germans were among us! Some time ago an army plane crashed in a practice cruise. Planes have crashed before, through the failure of men, material, or machine. Nothing could be simpler. Yet the charge was quickly made that the plane had been tampered with by alien suspects, and the government even investigated the charge. When the *S. S. Paris* burned at her dock in Havre some months ago, the air was filled with rumors that this was a case of arson. Had not the *Lafayette* also burned—and had not the *Normandie* been threatened—all that the French might have no transports in the next war? And so the thing goes! Remember the spy scare in this country last winter, with the farcical trials that were staged to save the face of an embarrassed government. It's all such nonsense as to be well-nigh incredible. And if this is what happens

now, in the war-poisoned atmosphere of peace, think of what will happen if war actually comes along. In heaven's name can't we be sensible, and try at least to act like human beings?

## A WAR POLICY FOR AMERICA

The best statement we have seen of wise policy for America in the present international crisis appears in a recent issue of the *Christian Register* in the course of a letter by Henry W. Pinkham, to whom the cause of peace has for years stood immeasurably indebted. Mr. Pinkham says:

> We should abjure collective homicide, whatever the circumstances. We should not supply any country with war instruments at any time, but should without discrimination trade with all peoples in useful goods and services. So far from increasing, we should drastically reduce our armament. If war befalls in Europe, we should not judge between aggressor and victim, but should leave that to history which alone can do it fairly. We should try unceasingly to stop the war, instead of trying to help one side to be victorious. What the Friends did in the Spanish war, ministering to the sufferers on both sides alike, is the only Christian and also the only reasonable and practical procedure.

The unlikelihood of the United States following any such policy as this is obvious, and is by this token an exact measure of our stupidity and barbarism. If we *want* to stay out of a next war, we can do so. If we choose to stay out, we can perform the priceless and utterly Christian service of hastening the end of conflict and establishing a "peace without victory" which can alone endure. Ours may be the inestimable privilege of ministering to the wounded, healing the sick, feeding the hungry, and in general mitigating the indescribable horrors of modern warfare. This is at the opposite pole, let it be noticed, of a policy of "isolation," which is so often hurled at the pacifist as a reproach. Of course this nation should not hide itself behind a Chinese wall and cut communications with mankind. We must keep our place in the human family, but as a Christ and not as a Caesar.

## THE ALIEN

Why is the alien coming in for such abuse and suspicion in this country? It is amazing what is being proposed against this member of the human family whose only offense is that he was born not here, but elsewhere. A bill which has actually passed the House of Representatives provides that any alien who advocates a change in our government may be deported. Strictly interpreted, this bill would subject to penalty a later James Bryce who might point out improvements that could be made to the advantage of government operation in Washington. Another bill, also passed by the House and now before the Senate, provides that aliens who cannot present a passport of the country of their origin may be interned. Under this law, if enacted, a Czechoslovakian might at any time be placed in a concentration camp, which for this high purpose would make its first appearance on American soil. Seventeen other bills of one kind and another, directed against aliens, are now before Congress, some of them too fantastic to be believed. What has come over us that we are suddenly so afraid of the foreigner? Hitherto we have been proud of these newcomers to our shores. We have for generations rejoiced that America could furnish refuge to men and women of other lands, and give them an economic and social opportunity not possible in their own countries. Why, at bottom we are all alien in origin! Not a family among us which did not have its start in some wanderer from another shore! Yet now we turn against our own blood, so to speak, and make war upon our spiritual kin. It is all a part, we suppose, of the madness of the times. We are frightened, and turn against anybody who seems strange or unfamiliar. It springs from the same impulse which prompts an anti-Semitic drive, or an anti-Communist scare. It is, on the other side, strikingly similar to Fascism in the latter's tendency towards uniformity and totalitarianism in general. What we need, to counteract this folly, is a new baptism of the true American spirit. There was a time when we gloried in the individual for his own sake, and based our institutions on the freedom and equality of men. This anti-alien movement is an affront to our conscience and an outrage upon the integrity of our institutions. Away with it!

## REACTION

The tide of reaction in this country is running strong. It is this, more than anything else, which explains the prevalent anti-Semitic movement. We would not minimize the danger and pity of this movement as an attack upon the Jews, nor ignore its relation to the anti-Semitic outrages of Europe. But nonetheless are we convinced that anti-Semitism in this country is in essence an attack upon the New Deal rather than an attack upon Israel. It is one peculiarly ugly phase, in other words, of that sweeping tide of political and social reaction which now has the nation in its grip. The same thing is true of the anti-Red movements which are appearing here, there, and yon. Communism may be everything that its worst enemies say it is, but there is nothing in either its policy or power in America which need disturb the timidest soul from sleep. Communism here at home, whatever it is abroad, is simply too insignificant for notice. Yet all about us are these "Red" scares, and these manias of alarm and assault which have captured so many of our people. They can mean nothing but a convenient cloak to cover the conservative campaign now being directed against an administration which, whatever its faults, is at least attempting to solve national problems along progressive democratic lines. It was a mistake, we feel, for President Roosevelt recently to describe the New Deal as "conservative" and its opponents as "radical gamblers."

Nobody is deceived by such smart phraseology. Nor does it serve any good purpose to obscure or distort the issue. The fact is that reaction is now in full swing. Conservatives are everywhere pressing the administration hard. Outward hostility is producing inward confusion, and thus rendering the New Deal helpless to help itself. In 1940 will come the fight to the finish, with everything favoring the opposition on the basis of the law of the pendulum, i.e., action and reaction. What is needed at this moment is knowledge of what is going on. Anti-Semitism, anti-Communism, pro-Americanism—these movements must not deceive us. They all represent the standpat hosts who would restore the "good old days."

### WHY?

In an age when pictures are fast taking the place of print, and looking is regarded as an adequate substitute for reading, it may be not out of place to raise the question as to why our illustrations these days must be so hopelessly standardized, so that to see one picture is to see all. A golfer, for example, is always pictured with his club swung up over his shoulder, so that one golfer looks exactly like every other golfer. Why should this be done? Has the photographer no ingenuity, or imagination? Has he no ambition to produce a picture that is distinctive? Again, a skater is always shown leaning far forward with one leg lifted and suspended high in the air behind. Why? Swimmers are always presented on the edge of the pool leaning forward with their hands on their knees. Why? Actresses and debutantes, especially when arriving on ocean steamers, are invariably photographed with legs crossed, skirts drawn high above the knees, and with an expanse of leg which would astonish an ostrich. Why? Illustrations of this tendency could be multiplied indefinitely. A hundred will immediately suggest themselves to every reader—as, for example, marching troops, steaming battleships, planes flying in formation, all of which in the magazines and in the newsreels look exactly alike and could be labeled with any designation of time, place, and nationality. Yet people buy these picture magazines and attend these movie shows as though totally unconscious of the unbroken monotony of what they see. What's the reason? Is it that we prefer the familiar to the unfamiliar? Are we children who like no new story to compare with the endless repetition of the old? Or are we simply easy-going, and therefore take what we get, without initiative enough to complain at such routine performances for our so-called pleasure? The trouble, we think, lies with the whole tendency of our time toward standardization. Everything must be the same, else, like a cat in a strange garret, we feel lost. All of which is decidedly uncomplimentary commentary upon the mental maturity of the general public!

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# Jottings

"It [the Red Cross] embraces . . . all races and creeds and knows no politics."
—*President Roosevelt.*

The Red Cross used to embrace all nations—but, alas, that time is passed.

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The *New Republic* is running a series of articles entitled, "After the New Deal." We wonder why the editors chose this title! We don't like it. It makes us think too much of Louis XIV's famous remark about *"Apres moi le deluge."*

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After reading the prize poem of the New York World's Fair, we went back and read the poems inspired by earlier world's fairs—Richard Watson Gilder's, Oliver Wendell Holmes', John Greenleaf Whittier's, Harriet Monroe's, Paul Engle's, and others. All we have to say is that literature in "the world of tomorrow" would seem to be a poor match for literature in the world of yesterday.

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If Catholicism is to be held responsible for the anti-Semitic odium of Father Coughlin, then Protestantism must be held responsible for the anti-Semitic odium of Gerald Smith. But why hold either responsible for the vaporous vagaries of two such demagogues? When we think of the Catholic church, we prefer to think of Father Ryan; as when we think of the Protestant church we prefer to think of Doctor Fosdick.

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"Bach's arrangement of Gounod's 'Ave Maria' was sung by Miss Emma Otero."
—New York *Times* report of services at the World's Fair Temple of Religion.

This music must have been written in heaven for the occasion, for we remember that Bach died in 1750, whereas Gounod was not born until 1818!

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Our wonder at the American public school system becomes greater with every latest report. In New York, for example, roller-skating is now being taught as a regular part of the curriculum. We anticipate that marbles and mud-pies will be the next additions to the higher learning.

J. H. H.

# British Appeasement of the Arabs

TARAKNATH DAS*

Persecution of the Jews in Germany and other lands has received considerable attention during recent years from eminent publicists. Yet it may be safely asserted that among the Christians there are millions who are not familiar with the basic reasons for this terrible calamity.

If we probe into the true nature of anti-Semitism and the causes behind the present plight of the Jews in Germany and other supposedly civilized countries, and the reason for the existence of the Zionist movement, then it becomes clear that the Jews are victims of religious and racial prejudice as well as of economic competition. As a racial minority, lacking effective political power, the Jews have been discriminated against, and have become victims of persecution; and the establishment of a Jewish State—The Jewish National Home, as guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration—is regarded by all competent authorities on the subject, as one of the requisites for the solution of the so-called "Jewish problem."[1]

The recent developments in connection with the Round Table Conference on Palestine, held in London, have dashed the hopes of the Jewish people working for the establishment of a Jewish state in their ancestral native land, where they will be able to live as masters of their own homes. It is definitely clear that the British Government has decided to create an independent Arab state in Palestine, where the Jews will be relegated to a permanent minority status; and there will be virtual stoppage of immigration of persecuted Jews (allowing about 15,000 a year for five years), and even restriction on the purchase of land in Palestine by the Jews. The British authorities have adopted this policy of sacrificing the Jewish cause by virtual repudiation of the solemn declaration of the Balfour Declaration, in order to secure the support of the Moslem world for the purpose of preserving British imperial interests.

During the World War, when the British espoused the cause of the Zionists and agreed to aid the Jewish people to reëstablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine, the prime motive behind such a move was to promote the British imperial program of securing complete control of the Near East and the road to India; and the Jews were merely a pawn in the game of power-politics of the British Government. One should not forget the following cardinal principles of British policy regarding the Near East:

> England must keep open its imperial lines of communications. The route to India has made England a Mediterranean Power. Today three routes lead through the Mediterranean to India and to the Far East—the maritime route through the Suez Canal; the air route by way of Egypt, Trans-Jordania and Iraq; the land route through northern Arabia.[2]

The geographical position of Palestine in relation to these three routes makes it imperative that Britain should maintain her supremacy in this region in some form or other. British control over Palestine is a vital factor in maintaining British interests in the Near East, North Africa, the whole of the Mediterranean region, and India. Palestine is a very important link in the chain of British outposts for the defense of the Empire. When one studies British interests in the Mediterranean, it becomes evident that Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Palestine are linked together as a unit.[3]

To check the possible march of Russia into the Near East and the Middle East, menacing British control of the road to India, the British came to an understanding with the French by signing the Sykes-Picot agreement, under which French supremacy over Syria was recognized by the British. However, with the definite idea of making the French position in Syria uncertain, the British came to an understanding with Sheriff Hussein of Arabia for the creation of an Arab empire. This double-dealing on the part of the British was due to Anglo-French rivalry in the Near East.[4] Thus, although the French and the English were in complete agreement regarding the partition of the Ottoman Empire, they were not anxious to allow Russia to get a foothold in the Near East. The British could not check Russian ambitions in the Near East and the Middle East without French support; and therefore agreed to French control of Syria. But to drive the French out of Syria, the British championed the cause of a united Arab empire. Lastly, to check Arab ambition and to utilize the power of World Jewry to support the cause of British imperialism, they championed the Zionist cause.

> Great Britain originally decided to extend her imperial commitments into the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire, because she was alarmed at the threat which the Turkish advance in 1915 had caused to the Suez Canal. She and France therefore agreed in a secret treaty of 1916—the Sykes-Picot Agreement—that they would divide the lands between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf into two "spheres of influence" in the event of victory. During her pursuit of other war interests Great Britain also made two further promises affecting this same territory. In 1915, in a correspondence between Sir Henry MacMahon—then the Commander-in-Chief in Cairo—and the Sheriff of Mecca, she promised the Arabs independence over a wide area if they would revolt in the desert against the Turks. Two years later, partly out of long standing regard for the Jews, but partly also to gain the support of the Jews of the United States for the allied cause, she made the famous Balfour Declaration of November, 1917, by which she promised a National Home in Palestine to the Jewish people.[5]

It seems that under the present situation of world politics, British statesmen feel the necessity of following the policy of "appeasement of the Arabs" and satisfying the Moslems in Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and India (there are nearly seventy millions of Moslems in India); and therefore have decided upon sacrificing the interests of the persecuted Jews. Possibly British statesmen think that with the growing persecution and despoliation of the Jews in Germany, Italy, Poland, Roumania, and other lands, Britain does not require the support of the Jewish world as she did during the most critical days of the World War!

When one reads *Arab Awakening*[6] by Georges Antonius, an Arab Christian, which contains a comprehensive history of the Arab Nationalist movement and the solution of the problem of Palestine, from the viewpoint of the Arab Nationalists, it becomes very clear that the British program of "appeasement of the Arabs" at the cost of the Jews, as advocated by the Rt. Hon.

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Malcolm MacDonald, the British Colonial Secretary, supported by the eminent Christian gentleman, Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, and endorsed by the members of the British cabinet, has been based upon some of the principal conclusions of this Arab publicist, formerly in the service of Great Britain.

Mr. Antonius writes: "At the rate at which immigrants had come [to Palestine] during 1935, the Jews, who formed 8 per cent of the total population in 1918, might acquire a majority in another ten years."[7] Thus, the Arabs demand that the Jewish immigration must virtually be stopped, and the British statesmen have incorporated this idea in their program. These statesmen now propose to aid the cause of the reëstablishment of the Jewish National Home by denying Jews entrance into Palestine! While sympathizing with the Jews in their tragic persecution in Germany and other lands, Mr. Antonius opposes Jewish immigration on the ground that "it would mean eviction of Arabs from their own homeland of Palestine."[8] But the truth of the matter is that Jewish immigration in Palestine has been one of the principal, if not the sole, causes of prosperity in Palestine. The Arabs have been benefited by it, and Arab immigration has increased.

Mr. Antonius suggests that the idea of a Jewish National Home as guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration should be abandoned, and an Arab State be established in Palestine where the Jews could enjoy their cultural freedom. He writes:

> Once the fact is faced that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine or a national home based on territorial sovereignty cannot be accomplished without forcibly displacing the Arabs, the way to a solution becomes clearer. It is not beyond the capacity of British, Jewish and Arab statesmanship to devise one. There seems to be no valid reason why Palestine should not be constituted into an independent Arab State in which as many Jews as the country can hold without prejudice to its political and economic freedom would live in peace, security and dignity, and enjoy full rights of citizenship. Such an Arab State would naturally be tied to Great Britain by a freely negotiated treaty which should contain provisions for safe-guarding of British strategic and economic interests, for ensuring the safety and inviolability of the Holy Places of all faiths, the protection of minorities and minority rights, and for affording the Jewish community the widest freedom in the pursuit of their spiritual and cultural ideals. . . .[9]

But the Jewish answer to the contentions of Arab Nationalists and British imperialists has been made in the recent book, *The Rape of Palestine*.[10] The author of this book, Mr. William Zipp, produces documentary evidences to the effect that the present Arab-Jewish conflict has been brought about by the silent if not active encouragement of British officials, who did not wish to carry out the provisions of the Balfour Declaration. He also proves that the Jewish contribution to the cause of the Allied Powers was far greater than the help extended by the Arabs. Reëstablishment of a Jewish National Home would not hurt the cause of Arab Nationalism, because the Home would cover less than 5 per cent of the territories which are claimed by the Arabs in the Near East, while the remaining 95 per cent is already under the control of the Arabs. The Jews at no time evicted Arabs from their lands; on the contrary, Jewish immigration has resulted in the rise of land values, and Arabs have gladly sold their land to Jews for profit. Jewish immigration and the development of Palestine by Jewish capital and industry have made the Arabs prosperous, with the result that the Arab population in Palestine has increased during the last few years. It is interesting and heartening to note that Mr. Pierre Van Passen, one of the most noted publicists of our time, supports Mr. Zipp's contention that high British officials were by their actions engaged in encouraging the Arabs in their opposition to growth of Jewish national life.[11]

Without exception, Jewish leaders, especially those belonging to the Zionist group, feel that Britain is now deliberately engaged in betraying the cause of the Jews and thus the cause of oppressed humanity. It is now definitely clear that Lord Halifax, Mr. Chamberlain, and other British statesmen feel that the preservation of British imperial interests with the support of the Moslem world is more imperative than carrying out Britain's moral obligations to the Jews, and her solemn promises to the United States and other nations regarding the reëstablishment of the Jewish National Home. Unless there be a double standard of international morality, the Jewish people and others who still believe in justice and honesty will be forced to regard Britain's promises and treaty obligations as no better than scraps of paper.

One of the real motives behind the policy of "appeasement of the Arabs," championed by the British Government, is not to endanger British supremacy in India by antagonizing the Moslem world. The British authorities in India have adopted a pro-Moslem policy in India with the definite objective of thwarting Hindu-Moslem unity. "Indian Moslems are *pro-Arab;* and as early as December, 1933, the All India Caliphate Committee in its session held in Lucknow protested against the Balfour Declaration."[12] It is interesting to note that many Hindu Nationalist leaders, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and others, are definitely pro-Arab and anti-Zionist in their outlook. They believe that by championing the cause of the Arabs they are promoting Hindu-Moslem unity.

When Great Britain agrees to purchase the good will of the Arab Nationalists by sacrificing her good faith with the Jews, she has chosen the path of promoting Pan-Islamism, because "Arab Nationalism" is a significant factor in the development of Pan-Islamism, and at the same time the spirit of Pan-Islamism is fostering a Pan-Arab Nationalism of wide consequence in international politics.[13]

One may rightly say that just as the policy of appeasement of Hitler in Germany has led not only to the destruction of the very existence of Czechoslovakia as an independent state, but to the strengthening of the movement for a Greater Germany, roused by the ideology of Pan-Germanism, similarly the British program of creation of an Arab State in Palestine would not only deal a very severe blow to the cause of Zionism and the Jewish refugees, but add strength to the cause of Pan-Islamism. Lest one be tempted to ignore the tremendous political significance of the revival of Pan-Islamism, I wish to draw to the attention of British statesmen the following comment on the subject by a renowned American student of world affairs, written nearly twenty years ago:

> The entire world of Islam is today in profound ferment. From Morocco to China and from Turkestan to Congo, the 250,000,000 followers of the prophet Mohammed are stirring to new ideas, new impulses, new aspirations. A gigantic transformation is taking place whose results must affect all mankind. This transformation was greatly stimulated by the late war. But it began long before. More than a hundred years ago the seeds were sown, and ever since then it has been evolving; at first

> slowly and obscurely; later more rapidly and perceptibly; until today under the stimulus of Armageddon, it has burst into sudden and startling bloom. . . .[14]

In Britain's policy of appeasement of Germany, the Austrians as well as the peoples of Czechoslovakia were regarded as mere pawns to be sacrificed. Similarly the Jews are being sacrificed to appease the Arabs. British policy toward Nazi Germany has aided the cause of Greater Germany which will in future act as Britain's economic and political rival. Similarly Arab-ruled Palestine would undoubtedly aid the cause of the Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic movement which in turn would challenge British supremacy in the Near East, the Middle East, and India. If Pan-Germanism should be allied with Pan-Islamism—which might develop, as there is unmistakable sign of German support to Arabs in Palestine—then what might not be the fate of the British Empire, which is now seeking American support under the cover of coöperation among democratic nations? Are we to say that the statesmen of Britain are pursuing a course which will lead to the dissolution of the British Empire? The developments in the Round Table Conference in London regarding Palestine bear unmistakable signs of this conclusion. As many American statesmen, including President Roosevelt, are advocates of Anglo-American coöperation in world politics, they should take time at least to ponder whether Britain's policy of "appeasement of the Arabs" is, or is not, a distinct liability for America, morally, politically, and economically. America should not support Britain's policy of supporting the Arabs at the cost of the extinction of the hope of the establishment of a Jewish National Home as guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration, which was prepared in consultation with the late President Woodrow Wilson.

Lastly, what would be the fate of the Jews, if the Jews be betrayed by Britain and thus they fail to achieve their aspirations of the reëstablishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine in the near future? During the last two thousand years the Jews have survived in spite of terrible persecutions. During this period the tyrants and their empires have passed into oblivion; but the Jewish people have survived; and they will survive and the struggle for freedom and justice will win its glorious victory in time to come.

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[6]ARAB AWAKENING. *By Georges Antonius. Philadelphia, 1939.*

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[8]*Ibid.*, p. 411.

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[10]THE RAPE OF PALESTINE. *By William Zipp. New York: Longmans Green & Company, 1938.*

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# Toward a New Earth

TRACY D. MYGATT

We pacifists are stubborn people. We still believe that our world can be saved. And though we are often accused of doing nothing more useful than crying "Peace, peace!" when heaven knows there is scant peace to be seen, there is small truth in the charge. We not only know what we want when we demand "Give us Peace!" but we believe we know also why a large part of the human family has run amuck, and what must be done without further delay if mankind is to be saved from its worst self. And the first step is the calling of a World Constitutional Convention.

Note that we say *world*. For really the gist of the whole matter is in that absolutely inclusive concept. Brilliant in many respects as is Mr. Clarence Streit's book, *Union Now*, his plan for the accomplishment of peace has one fatal flaw, in that his Federation of States is a union of Democracies only, and definitely excludes the Dictator countries.

Such a proposal, however impressively conceived in minor details, is foredoomed to failure as a tool of peace. Like them or not, the Totalitarian states, be they Fascist or Communist, have got to be included in any Federation. The black-and-white, sheep-and-goat concept is far too picturesque for this day in which we must look reality in the face. And while it may soothe the vanity of some, it gets us nowhere—unless it is into war! Granted that our passionate hope (and a hope shared by Mr. Streit), is for the ultimate triumph of true democracy, we shall not achieve it at a bound, but only by the Conference method, which is tolerant enough to take honest stock of non-democratic countries. Only by such action can we assuage the rankling injustices which most liberals grant have resulted from the savage Peace of Versailles and post-war discrimination.

Is it tolerant, right, or sensible theoretically to grant the existence of these injustices, and then refuse the Round Table to those against whom they have been perpetrated? Surely our most urgent need is the Round Table, conceived in its widest terms as a World Constitutional Convention leading to World Federation, to serve as a strong bulwark against this ever-threatening war which must at all costs be ruled out.

"Peace at any price?" One catches the contemptuous query. Well, then, yes, if one must put it so! And to clear the ground for some sorely needed thinking about honor. For if, as the question is hurled at the pacifist in the hope (quite futile!) of quelling him, there is in the questioner's mind the idea that honor is flung away in peace, and retained in war, we would point out that inevitably the price of war includes honor, also. There is, for instance, the Kellogg Pact, which all up and down the world has been treated as a scrap of paper, not by Dictatorships alone but by other nations which by their vast armament perpetually hold the threat of the recourse to war over the heads of potential enemies. This fact, however, does not alter the truth that the Briand-Kellogg Pact was signed by fifty-one nations, ourselves among them.

One recalls the satiric words that Mr. A. A. Milne gives his hypothetical Powers in that pointed little book of his, *Peace with Honour*:*

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*Published by E. P. Dutton, New York.

We pledge our solemn word of honour that we will not attack each other, and we also pledge our solemn word that if we break our solemn word of honour, we will defend each other.

Yes, a thousand times yes to World Federation! To the writer, it seems a tragic fallacy that Mr. Streit, desiring peace, should advocate anything less than this truly honorable road to the solution of the difficulties of us all. His own plan is unfeasible if only because it is so highly unlikely that the Dictatorships would submit to an authority in which they would have no share. More seriously, and stripped of all glamor, is his proposal anything other than the old appeal to a vaster force, military and economic? Under his *Union Now,* does there not yawn straight before us the road to war?

And in war, of a deadly certainty, honor and democracy alike will go down before an onslaught of violence even more formidable than that of 1914. The business of killing was never attractive. But today even the minimum of such decency as it ever had, will of necessity be flung into the discard. Democracy cannot co-exist with militarism. Already, with conscription blackening the skies of Great Britain, it is cracking. War means Fascism. The arch-survivor—alongside death, disease, destruction and dictatorship—will be the instinct to punish and still punish those whom the people will believe have inflicted such unspeakable agony.

But in Peace—not merely in the maintenance of the shoddy peace we now have, but in the creation of the true peace which our armament-ridden world has never yet seen—honor, too, is achieved, and the democratic ideal, the Christian ideal of abundant life for all men.

It will not come of itself. The great steps must be taken wisely, purposefully. And we reiterate that the first step is the calling of the Convention. So, at long last, can a Federation of States be born, all-inclusive, non-military, essentially and basically democratic. And if the abundant energies of President Roosevelt can but be turned in this direction, our world can yet be saved and remade into that beautiful new world yearned for by all prophetic eyes.

Hopeful and deeply stirring comes the call of the campaigning group which has this at heart:

> WHEREAS, the peoples of all nations, overburdened with heavy debt for armies and armaments and nevertheless in ever-present danger of war, look for leadership to bring order out of the confusion of international affairs, and
>
> WHEREAS, international order cannot be permanently established otherwise than by organizing all the nations of the world into a Federation, and
>
> WHEREAS, our national existence at peace in a democratic federation of sovereign states provides a well-tried pattern for successful World Federation and fits the United States of America to take a bold initiative in offering the federal system to all nations; therefore be it
>
> RESOLVED, that the President be urged to take without delay the necessary steps to prepare a plan for the calling of a World Constitutional Convention which shall draw up a Constitution for the all-inclusive, democratic, non-military Federation of Nations essential to the life of civilized man.

Granted that a fight lies ahead of us: a fight, on the one hand, against the apathy and fatalism which threaten to engulf us in a whirlpool from which we shall not emerge without irreparable harm to all we cherish; a fight, on the other hand, against violently conceived false steps leading straight over the brink of a terrible precipice. We must resist both. Instead, in stubborn, energetic love of our fellow men, we must persuade the President to blaze, by his speedy calling of the Convention, a great fresh trail of human brotherhood.

# War

ROBERT WHITAKER

We are going into another world war. Some are for it; some are against it. But neither those who are for it, nor those who are against it, have really very much to do with our going into it. We are going into it because we are already in it. We have been in it for years, ever since the Armistice of November, 1918. The Armistice we called it rightly. We tried to make ourselves believe it was peace. But it was not peace we celebrated; it was victory. And we did not even know victory when we saw it.

The real victory was not the victory of the Allies over Germany. It was the victory of Russia, new Russia, over old Russia. There had been a half-victory, that is an armistice, in Russia, in March 1918. The Romanoffs had been driven out of the Kremlin. But they were still in Russia. In November the Hohenzollerns were driven out of Germany. But Hohenzollernism, seven-fold worse, came back with Hitler. The Romanoffs would have come back in Russia, or a Hitler, as witness Kolchak. But it was no armistice that happened in Russia, in November. It was revolution, then and there.

Also it was revolution that threatened to spread all over Europe. Revolution followed Russia in Hungary. It threatened in Italy, in Germany, in France, even in England; wherever the folks, who had paid the price of war, wanted to collect on it for the people.

It was the United States that stopped it. That was why Woodrow Wilson went to Europe. That was why Herbert Hoover went to Europe. The League of Nations, the dream for which Woodrow Wilson ratified the Treaty of Versailles, was not a league of nations. It was a league of conquerors. The "relief" which Herbert Hoover administered was not relief for the oppressed and the disinherited; it was relief for the privileged and the exploiters, who feared that if the distressed millions went unfed, the Armistice, which was only against Germany, would become more than a victory for the conquerors; it would become a victory for the common people.

Since then the United States has been helping to carry on war in Asia, in Africa, in Europe. We have been equipping Japan, and are yet, for the rape of China. We helped to put Italy on her feet, for the rape of Ethiopia. We have helped in the rape of Spain. Lately we have been helping Chamberlain and Daladier to patch up, if possible, another armistice with quite another Germany.

All this, not because the hearts of the people are wedded to war! But because our American individualism and the capitalism in which we lead the world, find big profit in war. Big profit, not for the run of the people, but for big business, which the people imagine they have to serve in order to serve themselves. This is why we celebrate victory instead of peace, and are going into war again, in order to celebrate another armistice with Germany. We are going into another world war, because we are in a world war all the time.

# Leadership Resources in the Local Church*

GLADYS ROBERTS HILTON

"Discovering Leadership Resources in the Local Church" is the sort of topic about which one could talk a great deal and say very little. For this reason, I have chosen to reinterpret the title according to dictionary definitions of terms so that we may more easily recognize the problems involved. It might be stated thus: "Disclosing the stocks that can be drawn on for pioneering," "Perceiving influencing assets," "Detecting direction means." There are two other possible statements which show very clearly the differences possible in this matter of finding adequate leadership for religious education. One reads: "Finding guiding expedients to which one resorts." This is all too often the method that is employed in securing leadership. We need someone to help with the religious education of the church. There are several people who do not feel qualified, who have no particular interest or ability but who are loyal in their desire to be helpful so they become the religious education workers. When this happens they are the expedients to which one resorts and the church school becomes the lifeless repository of uninspired teaching and action. On the other hand, the phrase of the title might be translated as "Detecting pioneering assets." This seems to be a particularly happy joining of words. For surely the groups and individuals who can devote their ability and their experience to the children and young people of the church are well worth detecting. Most of us will agree also that it takes detective ability at times to ferret out those among us with particular abilities in religious education. The words pioneering assets are equally important. Religious education is no longer the dull, uninspired recital of past conclusions and traditional attitudes but an adventurous pioneering of all the new paths of educational and cultural achievement. Our assets in these fields may not necessarily be teachers only but should embrace the whole membership of the church so that from time to time we may be able to call upon people within the church for the advice, the leadership, the training, and the instruction that we need. So let us consider the subject as the detection of those assets for pioneering that we need for a religious education program.

First, of course, we are implying that someone is to do the detecting. How do we qualify ourselves for that detection if it should become our responsibility? We cannot seek and find leadership for the church school unless we are fully aware of the new methods, techniques, available materials, and adventurous and imaginative originality that are basic to the development of the modern church school. We ourselves must be trained with the best training that it is possible for us to secure. We must be aware of the child-centered curriculum. We must be willing to work out courses where the present ones seem inadequate. We must have a feeling for the religious life of the child and young person which will enable us to throw text books and materials out of the window if the occasion demands and work creatively with them on new and constructive programs and projects. Finally, we must know what we are looking for if we are going to be successful in our detection of leadership and pioneering resources. Is it a question of teaching ability or experience? Not entirely. Is it a question of knowledge of the religious history and thought of the ages? Not entirely. Is it a profound sense of the values of personality and the ethical demands which grow out of this recognition? Not entirely. Is it a sense of calmness and understanding in the midst of a tortured world? Not entirely. It is all of these things and much more. It is a love and understanding of children. A sense of adventure that makes each new experience a joy, a sense of wonder and of beauty. A sense of humor, a feeling for play. An enthusiasm and a radiance that make working together a great experience. A feeling for the new and untried. A recognition of the fact that life is not static and that truth is not absolute. As Alfred Whitehead said in *Aims of Education,* "The students are alive and the purpose of education is to stimulate and guide the self-development. It follows also as a corollary from this premise that the teachers also should be alive with living thoughts." This is the most important. The factual material may be acquired but the spirit and the understanding must be basic. Probably every speaker on religious education has at one time or another used Dean Inge's now famous quotation: "Religion must be caught not taught."

But you may say: What of the devoted worker in the church school who has taught for many years—the teacher who feels that all of the modern ideas are really just the old ones expressed differently; that teacher who feels that training courses and workers' conferences are unnecessary for one of experience; who feels that after all there is no sense in talking about her learning with the child because she has taught this course for years? In such cases I think we find the answer in Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing* in which she says, "What cruel mistakes are sometimes made by benevolent men and women in matters of business about which they know nothing and think they know a great deal." This is not sarcasm. It is fact. A real religious education school must have teachers and leaders interested in real and growing education. Tradition and length of service is not the criterion for teaching and leadership. Understanding of the aims of modern religious education, the methods by which those aims may be achieved, and the view of the child as the whole child in all its aspects, growing, learning, expanding, and developing—these are the requirements of teaching. This is a very long introduction to the actual discussion of detecting leadership but it is tremendously important. All too often we do not know what we are looking for in church school leadership and this is fatal. It is the reason for our failures.

We must dismiss from our minds the idea that the church school is a good place to put people who need some activity within the church. It may be if the person is qualified but it certainly is not on any other grounds. We cannot wait for people to come and volunteer to teach a class or head up a department. The alert religious education committee or director will be constantly on the lookout for those people who have a contribution to make to the growing life of children

*Paper read before the Western Unitarian Conference, Chicago, May 15, 1939.

and young people. They will watch the people of the church with children. They will note the attitudes toward education and toward explorative methods in religion. They will observe parents with their own children. This must go on all the time. It is not something that happens at the beginning or end of each year and then is forgotten until the next year. It is a continuing search for competent and understanding leadership. There are many branches of religious education. A person may be an excellent teacher or leader but not be able to work on curriculum materials. Someone should be found who can do that very necessary work. Service projects and projects of understanding may be led by other people who are particularly qualified. Leaders may be found in the Laymen's League, the Alliance, the Young Married People's Groups, the Young People's groups, and from the church as a whole. In some cases other responsibilities may keep people from assuming the responsibility of week-to-week work with the church school but they may be able to lead parent discussion groups, organize transportation arrangements to the church school services, help with the planning of parent teacher meetings, conduct or help with various trips and excursions that are so much a part of the modern church school program. No psychologist, botanist, musician, artist, teacher, or social worker should be overlooked. At least the church school should be discussed with these people and every effort made to determine what contribution they may make.

Many of the people in our liberal churches have memories of Sunday school experiences which were anything but creative aids to better living. These people must be acquainted with the aims and endeavors of the present liberal school. Their amazement is often the prelude to a real and lasting interest and service but this presentation of the aims and methods must be made. How many times have you heard teachers say: "We had a wonderful time this morning in my class. We got away from the lesson but it really was the most stimulating class we ever had. I wonder if you would approve?" This question is the outgrowth of conditioning in other types of schools, and the real leader will take every such opportunity gladly to explain that that is real religious education. You may find the people best qualified to lead the religious educational work of the church very reticent about accepting responsibility. Most of us cannot explain and express what we mean about the work of the school. We use text-book phrases and words which to a practical person mean very little. We must be able to say to people and groups within the church: We have children in the church of all ages. They are individuals. They are curious, wide-awake, interested boys and girls. The work of the church school is to guide that interest and that curiosity into constructive channels. In many ways these children are more aware of the realities of life than we are. It is a mutual growing stage where we learn together to become better people and happier and more constructive members of society. Our methods are not didactic but discovering and discovering together. We learn more about ourselves, about each other, about the thought and life of the past, the world in which we live, the good and the bad things about the world in which we live. We develop an awareness of all the aspects of life. When we can say these things to groups and individuals within the church, our detecting becomes simpler. Until we can say these things or similarly concrete things, we should not try to detect leadership.

One of the greatest problems of the liberal church school is the matter of group support. We have committees of religious education from the churches and from the Alliances but that is not enough. Each group and each organization within the church should know what is going on within the church school. This matter of group leadership and understanding is very important. Its least important aspect is the one of financial support which is usually the greatest consideration. Emerson once said: "It is always hard to go beyond your public. If they are satisfied with cheap performance you will not easily arrive at better. If they know what is good, and require it, you will aspire and burn until you achieve it." The greatest contribution of the groups within the church is helpful and constructive criticism and suggestion. In discovering leadership resources, it is important to remember the groups within the church. Do not limit yourself to committees in the church and the Alliance. Have committees in all church groups. Have them report and secure suggestions. It is one of the best methods to secure coöperation and support for the religious education work of the church.

We have been talking about pioneering assets within the local church. How about the children? With enthusiastic leadership their own leadership and pioneering activities are discovered to be enormous. They follow the things that interest them. They work on their projects and curriculum study with any means and every sort of imaginative tool available. And the best part of it is that it is perfectly natural for them. They do not assume the pioneering label that adults sometimes do. We are likely to become very much impressed with our own daring in innovation. The children never are. It is as natural as breathing for them to do things that we think very new. These children of ours, growing up in a new world, a world of fear and hatred, are much more realistic in their approach to actual events than we are. They are the real leaders. When they are given a chance to express themselves, the religious education program lives. Let them expand their own lesson material. Let them and, what is more, help them to write their own material. Watch them dramatize the greatest events of the past and present as seen through their eyes and we will all discover that the real leadership of the church school comes from the children. Use the church school council but do not use it so that it builds up bitterness and envy. Let it become a truly democratic way of solving school problems and of planning activities. Wherever it is possible, have the members of the council bring visitors from their classes to the meetings so that each one attends at least once and knows what goes on. This is a real education in democracy, and the difficulties of having visitors each time are more than made up for by the interest and enthusiasm of all the children.

We have the resources in every church. We have the pioneering assets in every church for effective religious education. Why are they not utilized? Primarily, because religious education is up in the clouds. We do not even talk about it in understandable terms. We are still too tied to tradition and too afraid to experiment with the meaningful things of life. We are too smug about our religious education. If everything is going well, that is as it should be. If the church

school is not a success, we can think of dozens of reasons to explain the failure. We seldom think that the fault lies in our fundamental failure to explain what we are trying to do and how we are trying to do it. A mother not long ago told me that Unitarianism was an adult religion but that there was nothing in Unitarianism for immature children. She was honest. There are many other mothers who would agree with her but who would not say so. This is a problem with which we must deal. We must be able to show not only in words but in the actual development of the children what liberal religion has for children.

Our problem is to discover leadership resources, and then to do something with the resources that we have found. We cannot find them and then stifle them in the morasses of tradition and convention. We cannot form a children's council and then do their thinking for them. When the detection has been successful we must give these resources of ours, adults and children, opportunity to develop and express those pioneering abilities that are the basis and hope of liberal religious education.

Religious education in liberal churches is sadly needed in the world today. If religion is to be truly a way of life, we must all discover for ourselves and help our children to discover ways of living together and of living with ourselves that will build better people and a better world. The hatreds and bigotries of the world, the cruelties and injustices, the intolerances and the regimentations are the daily surroundings of our children. What are we going to do about them? Our leadership must have an answer to these problems. It is not a problem that can be turned over to one or two or three groups within the church but it is a responsibility that rests solidly upon the shoulders of every liberal church member. Religious education is the responsibility of the whole church, and we must help it to assume that responsibility.

# The World's Fair—What Is It Worth?*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I am irresistibly reminded of a statement made in connection with the Chicago World's Fair of 1933, known as the "Century of Progress." This statement was to the effect that a world's fair does for a community today precisely what a cathedral did for a community in the Middle Ages. It raises wages; it employs the idle, and thus helps to solve the problem of unemployment; it releases and distributes wealth; it is in general good for business.

This statement of analogy between a world's fair and a cathedral is interesting, indeed fascinating, but is nonetheless unjust, it seems to me, to the cathedral, for a great church in the Middle Ages was never built for economic reasons. If anything was ever done for God alone, without any worldly considerations whatsoever, it was this cathedral-building of many centuries ago. Just to stand in the nave of a cathedral—not an imitation modern cathedral, which has no relation to the life of our times, but a medieval cathedral which sprang from the hearts of the people like a flower from the soil—just to stand, I say, in the nave of such a cathedral and gaze down the long vista to the shining cross, to pause under the dome, or central spire, and behold the transepts left and right, to look upon the choir and the high altar, to see the stained-glass windows and hear the organ, to bow beneath the towering arches of span and column, this is to be assured that here is a specimen of man's handiwork reared to the glory of God alone. The economic interpretation of history may apply, as I believe it does apply, to many things, but not to this. And yet, a cathedral had economic consequences in just the way suggested by the Marxian doctrine. It busied the workers and artisans of its community; it gathered and employed architects, sculptors, painters, engineers, glass-makers, and musicians for miles around; it used tons of raw materials; and after it was completed, it drew crowds of pilgrims, and in later centuries of tourists, to contribute to the economic prosperity of the town. A cathedral *was* good for business; it *did* relieve unemployment; it *did* establish and maintain prosperity!

A comparison, therefore, between a world's fair and a cathedral in the economic field has a certain validity, for a world's fair, like a cathedral, has indisputable economic features. But the comparison is sound only in reverse! That is to say, a world's fair is like a cathedral the other way around. By this I mean that whereas a cathedral had its origin in unworldly motives, and then incidentally, or even accidentally, accomplished certain economic consequences of importance, a world's fair has its origin in motives and practical considerations of a decidedly worldly nature, and then indirectly involves itself in artistic, social, and even spiritual results of great significance. It is not too much to say that a world's fair is primarily to be understood as a rather desperate and certainly very gallant attempt to restore prosperity to a community in a time of serious economic depression. But this would be far too little to say, if we stopped right here and did not recognize that a world's fair inevitably extends its range, as a man grows from the stature of a child, or a Shakespeare and a Beethoven from a sucking infant, and thus, by a process of inner development, attains at last to the magnitude and beauty of a cathedral. Yes, a comparison between the two amazing specimens of man's handiwork is valid. The cathedral and the world's fair start at opposite points of the horizon, but they merge and mount into one vast firmament of glory.

I have said that a world's fair has its origin fundamentally in economic motives; it is a commercial enterprise from the beginning, if not clear through to the end. Various illustrations, or demonstrations, of this thesis suggest themselves, of which the following may be noted:

(a) World's fairs, in the history of our country at least, have almost invariably come along in periods of great industrial depression, or immediately thereafter. Thus, the famous Centennial Exposition, which was held in Philadelphia in 1876, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of American independence, came at a time when the nation was just beginning to recover a bit from the financial panic of 1873, the most disastrous episode of the kind since the great bank crash of 1837. The Chicago Exposition of 1893, held (one year late) to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, was coincident with the industrial crisis of that same year. The Chicago Fair of 1933—the "Century of Progress," as it was called—was

*A sermon preached at the Community Church, on Sunday, April 30, 1939, on the occasion of the opening of the New York World's Fair.

opened just four years after the collapse of the stock market in October, 1929, and in the very depths of the awful depression consequent upon that disaster. It may be argued, I suppose, that nobody planned it just this way. But *didn't* somebody plan it just this way? Can there be any question that this present New York Fair is a deliberate and well-organized attempt to overcome the current depression? Whether or no, there is a chronology here which is not without significance.

(b) Secondly, all the great exhibitors at a world's fair are industrial producers, commercial corporations, which have something to sell to the consuming public. O, yes, there are other and distinguished features of these gigantic enterprises. There are temples of religion, museums of art, halls of music, palaces of instruction. But if you took away from a fair the exhibits presented by private interests that exist simply and solely for purposes of private profit, how much would you have left?

(c) Thirdly, there is to be noted a tendency in all fairs towards indifference to moral principles and issues, even towards outright degeneracy and evil. The commercial motive not only originates, but proceeds sooner or later to dominate and, in the end, to corrupt these undertakings which have to return their investments to their promoters. We see this most conspicuously in the entertainment field, which almost without exception becomes a festering sore of indecency and outrage. Every world's fair has become famous for some gross offense to public morals. Thus, the beautiful Chicago Fair of 1893 had its Midway Plaisance and "Little Egypt." The Philadelphia Fair of 1926 was chiefly remembered for its prize fight between 'Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey. The Chicago "Century of Progress," in 1933, had Sally Rand and her sensational Fan Dance. Indeed, it was seriously said that if it had not been for Sally and her fan, the Chicago Fair would have been a complete financial disaster. As for the San Francisco Fair of this present year, it has already become notorious for its "Nude Ranch," which is attracting more customers than all the other exhibitions put together. What will happen at our New York Fair no one can say. There seems to be a resolute determination to keep this exposition fairly clean. But already the concessionaires are in revolt against the censors, all restraints have been lifted in the matter of the sale of alcoholic beverages, and it will be surprising indeed if, by midsummer, the sky is not the limit.

It is in facts of this kind that we discover the basically commercial character of a world's fair. But we shall be seriously deceived if we do not discern that a world's fair is something more and better than a mere commercial enterprise. It is true that this "World of Tomorrow" on the Flushing meadows has been planted there primarily to serve the business interests of New York City and of the nation at large. It would be foolish, indeed a little dishonest, to pretend anything else! But—in the very endeavor to promote some measure of that economic prosperity which has so long and aggravatingly been around the corner, this Fair is releasing certain forces of aspiration and vision into the life of the community which are destined to serve immeasurably the higher and nobler interests of our common life. Beginning as a workshop, the Fair becomes a temple; starting as a mart of trade, it changes itself into a cathedral; primarily an exhibition-hall, it is transformed, almost in spite of itself, into what Walt Whitman saw in Philadelphia in 1876, and described immortally in his poem, "The Song of the Exposition":

> Mightier than Egypt's tombs,
> Fairer than Grecia's, Roma's temples,
> Prouder than Milan's statued, spired Cathedral,
> More picturesque than Rhenish castle-keeps,
> We plan, even now to raise, beyond them all,
> Thy great cathedral, sacred Industry.

Let me show you, in some detail, what I mean by this transformation of a sheer commercial enterprise into a shrine, so to speak, of the arts and sciences:

(1) An international exposition, or world's fair, challenges trade and commerce to disclose what it can do to the end of serving the physical needs of men. For that is what business is—the invention and production of necessities, conveniences, comforts, and luxuries, for human use and enjoyment! Everything that has yet been conceived as a contribution to the best standards of modern living is gathered together for exhibition at a fair. Primarily, of course, this exhibition is directed at the public as a great aggregation of customers and consumers. But as we walk about these halls and see these multifarious and miraculous articles on display, there must inevitably occur to us the question as to why they are not already in general use. Why is not everybody equipped with the best that ingenuity can thus devise? Why do the people have to come at considerable expense to a world's fair to see what should already be installed and at work in their own homes? Something is wrong somewhere that these products of man's genius and enterprise are not widely distributed throughout the land. Surely it should not be necessary to wait for "the world of tomorrow" in order to enjoy what is so easily possible in the world of today. Our children will use these things which represent a so much higher standard of living! Why should we not also use them in our time?

What happens at a fair is a stirring of new and hitherto unsuspected desires and expectations in the minds of the people; then a discontent that these desires and expectations are not yet realized; then a demand that they shall be realized, not for the few, nor even for the many, but for all. The net result of these emotions is the creation, right here before our face and eyes, in the space of a few months or even weeks, of new standards of living. What is seen in these halls must be carried over into the life of the people. And in some strange, almost miraculous way, it *is* carried over! It has been said that the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 raised the standard of living in a single year in America to a point which it would otherwise have taken a half-century to attain. I have no doubt that when the present Fair across the river has closed its gates, it will be found that the same result has again been achieved. In housing, in furniture, in domestic economy, in personal convenience and comfort, the life of the American people will be transformed by the "World of Tomorrow" as though by the rubbing of an Aladdin's lamp.

(2) Secondly, I have said that this Fair, like the many fairs which have preceded it, has been conceived, among other reasons, as a means of easing the tension of unemployment. For the last eight or nine years, more than a million men and women in New York and vicinity have been out of work. During this past winter it has been said that between four and five hundred thousand persons have been walking our streets daily in search of jobs. Now the Fair has been a direct and calculated attack upon this problem. The success of the attack is demonstrated in the tens of thousands of workers now happily busy on the Flushing meadows who would otherwise be idle.

The largest number of those employed at the

World's Fair are skilled and unskilled laborers. But these are not all! Added to them, to make up the grand total of the myriads who have built this exposition, must be hundreds, or rather thousands, of architects, painters, sculptors, designers, landscape gardeners, musicians, and writers. These all are creative artists—and here they have been suddenly released, so to speak, to produce the best that is within them! The result, as I must believe from the reports which have reached me, is a revelation of the use and beauty of our time. Here is American art, both practical and aesthetic, brought up to date, to guide us, inspire us, uplift us. Much of this exhibition, I have no doubt, will surprise and perhaps shock those of us who are accustomed to the standards and ideas of other times. When I visit the "World of Tomorrow," I expect to be horrified far more often than I shall be pleased. But who am I to pass artistic judgment upon the buildings and sculptures and paintings of this Fair? I was reared under the influence of the late nineteenth century, when things were different from what they are today. I must remind myself that the world moves in the field of art as in every other field of human activity, and that it is difficult for the elders among us to keep up. The one thing to recognize at this World's Fair is that the best artistic talent available in this country, among which there may well be much genius, has been set to work at creative activity, and thus has made real for a little time the golden city of our dreams.

The effect of this achievement may well surpass all calculation. Thus, unforgettable to this day was the aesthetic influence of the Chicago Fair of 1893. Pioneer America had not thought much about beauty. Industrial America had turned everything it touched into ugliness and horror. The Philadelphia Exposition brought to this country for the first time a sight and knowledge of European art from medieval to modern days. But it was not until the vision of the "White City," as it was called, on the shores of Lake Michigan, burst upon the enraptured gaze of the multitudes, that we really discovered in America what beauty is. From every part of the country came millions to look upon the Court of Honor, and the Water-Gate, and the towering dome of the Administration Building. It was a new experience, which changed forever the mood and temper of the people. Similarly unforgettable, I dare to believe, will be the aesthetic influence of this New York Fair. I venture to assert that nothing in the Flushing meadows will so stun the beholder as did the first glimpse of the Chicago Fair. A sudden revelation of that kind, like the New Jerusalem descending out of heaven, can never be repeated. But a new world will nonetheless be disclosed, with its prophecy of a greater and fairer tomorrow, and no one of us will be the same after beholding the vistas of the day and the entrancing visions of the night.

(3) Thirdly, in such a Fair as this, we get a new and living consciousness, do we not, of our country—its variety and vigor, its constructive genius and spiritual idealism, its natural and human resources. It has been said that the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia gave America a mind. Up to that time the country had been largely sectional. Its ideas were parochial, and its emotions sentimentally attached to particular *locales,* like New England and the South. Colonial and pioneer days had been absorbingly devoted to the hard materialistic job of building a nation out of the raw material of an unexplored continent. There was as little time in those days for ideas and speculations as there was strength. Only in Massachusetts, where the days of primitive settlement first turned into the aspects of a native culture, had there appeared a philosophy and a literature worthy of the name. Then came the anti-slavery controversy, the horrors of civil war, and the fierce fury of hate and strife. Who could say that at this time, or even after the close of the war, there was an American mind, with thoughts and ideas expressive of the nation's life as a whole? It was only at Philadelphia, in the Exposition commemorating one hundred years of liberty, that this mind came at last to birth. As millions gathered in the City of Brotherly Love to see the Exposition, they found themselves gazing at a common spectacle, contemplating a common history, facing a common future; and as they scattered to their homes, they took with them a common sense of dedication to a common life. From that moment on, there was such a thing in this country as an American public opinion. Thanks to the Centennial Exposition more than to any other single influence, Americans began to think together, and thus to have a mind.

In the same way it has been said that the Chicago World's Fair gave America a soul. By this is meant an apprehension of things spiritual. A glimpse of life lived in terms of the inner as well as the outer aspects of existence! For the first time, in 1893, Americans began to dream of beauty never hitherto imagined. They caught an idea of something more and better in life than buying and selling, and making money. The "White City" seemed to be a vision of the future on this earth. Why should not all cities become thus clean and lovely? Why should not the whole nation put on truth and beauty as a garment? Is it any accident that, with the turn of the century there came not only a strange improvement in architecture in America, but also great movements for municipal reform, the abolition of political corruption, the redeeming of the land from moral iniquity and degradation? The American people had seen something in Chicago that they had never seen before. It was like the vision of John on Patmos. And from that hour, the nation had a soul.

Now is it too much to expect that this present Fair, our "World of Tomorrow," will have some such redemptive influence upon our people? This nation has been living in direful times. Something has gone out of us in recent years. In our experience abroad since the Great War and Versailles, we have become disillusioned, disappointed, disheartened, ashamed, even afraid. In our domestic affairs, the Great Depression and its aftermath, we have become shaken in morale, have lost confidence in ourselves, are frightened of the future. For the first time in our history we feel frustrated, defeated, cast down. Something, I say, has gone out of us, and we know not what to do. Now comes this Fair, which is our own creation. In its avenues and promenades, its courts and buildings, its vistas and visions, its whole vast conception of use and beauty, we see, as it were, ourselves caught up in the vigor of our earlier and better days. In this is victory over what has befallen us. We are not beaten after all. We are Americans who have conquered a continent, and may yet conquer a world. I venture to prophesy that the millions of persons who attend this Fair will undergo an experience of inner transformation. Dejected, desperate, frightened, they will be lifted up by the discovery of this vast achievement on the Flushing shore. Not one of them but will go away with quickened step, head high, and soul renewed. And out of it will come

a new sense of dedication to the Republic. Whitman felt and said it all in his great "Song":

> While we rehearse our measureless wealth, it is for Thee dear Mother!
> We own it all and several today indissoluble in Thee;
> Think not our show merely for products gross, or lucre—it is for Thee;
> Our farms, inventions, crops, we own in Thee. Cities and States in Thee!
> Our freedom all in Thee! Our very lives in Thee!

(4) But in this Fair across the bay, we get a new consciousness not merely of the nation but of the world. For it is mankind that is glorified in this vast spectacle —his various handiworks, his arts and sciences, his folkways and traditions, his history, tragedy, and high endeavor. There are exhibitions in Flushing which move the heart and fire the soul.

The Czechoslovakian building, for example! There it stands—the structure unfinished, the exhibits unpacked, the doors unopened. The mute witness of the greatest single national tragedy of modern times! Last night, on the radio, there was an interview with the Czechoslovakian Commissioner to the Fair—the man who left his country a free and independent state, and who reached these shores a "man without a country." He was asked what flag he would raise above his building. And he said, "Two flags! One the banner of your own great republic, and the other the national flag of Czechoslovakia, flown at half-mast."

Then there is the Palestinian building, reared by the Jews of this country and of the world as the living witness of the new Zion! Never in all their tragic history have the Jews been so overwhelmed with misery as they are at this present moment. Millions of their kindred wander "the eternal road" of exile, homeless and friendless, save as they may find homes and friends among those who are not yet stricken. In such an hour the Jews have not forgotten Jerusalem! On the contrary, they have raised and dedicated this shrine, the Palestine building, that all may see the place which Zion is to hold in the "world of tomorrow." If you see nothing else at the Fair, see this! Behold with your own eyes what Jews have done, in sweat and tears and blood, to redeem their homeland and to make its abandoned deserts to blossom as the rose! If any one of us has doubts about Zion, or question of its future in the light of its present woes, here is the answer to our little faith.

I might refer to other foreign buildings and exhibits, which represent the friendly coöperation of many peoples in a pledge of brotherhood and peace. As we walk these pleasant ways, how can we doubt the end of war? Is not this Fair a certain promise of a peace which, however long postponed, must some day yet come upon the earth? Man's energies cannot all and forever be turned to destruction. Even in this hour of world-wide suspicion, fear, and hate, the nations have found it possible to join hands and hearts in a common enterprise of good. Humanity, therefore, is not quite dead. The dream of a better day is not yet vanished. If a world's fair is possible at this moment when we tremble on the verge of universal war, why not ultimately a "parliament of man [and] a federation of the world"?

In his "Centennial Hymn," written for the Philadelphia Fair of 1876, John Greenleaf Whittier lifted his prayer and praise to God who had

> . . . . here in concord furled
> The war-flags of a gathered world,

and dreamed that "beneath our Western skies," we should yet

> ". . . . fulfil
> The Orient's mission of good will."

Little could this Quaker have surmised of the horrors of these later years. But his vision, caught at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, has not been quenched. It has been dimmed, yet has endured, and glows this day anew in the World's Fair of New York. So long as these things are possible, I shall refuse to despair of the future of mankind.

It is on this note of peace in the "world of tomorrow" that I would close. Our faith cannot be vain. Our hopes shall yet come true. So lift your hearts, dear friends, in confident and glad acclaim! Welcome the nations to these shores, in pledge and promise of world-wide brotherhood!

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# The Study Table

### The Resurrection of the Toltecs

THE BLUE-EYED GOD. *By Francis Rotch.* 311 *pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers.* $2.50.

The first part of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of an interest in Mexico, its ruins, its cultural remains, and its people. The new interest fitted into the romantic element in the American literature of the time. Robert Montgomery Bird, a contemporary novelist, published his *Calavar,* a romance of the Expedition of Cortez. This went well, and he followed it in a year with another novel again in the romantic vein, *The Infidel, or the Fall of Mexico.* For these novels Bird made wide studies into the folk-lore and archaeology of Mexico. Bird created an audience, and awakened Lew Wallace, who became enamored of the religion, customs, and memorials of the Mexicans so inhumanly crushed by the Spanish. The result of his studies was another romantic novel, *The Fair God.* Then Americans began to take Mexico's past more realistically. They studied the pyramids and wrote theories about them; they delved into the myths of the Aztecs and the Toltecs. Alas, the Spanish, in their zeal to save the souls of their conquered subjects, destroyed their books and the remains of their religion. But something survived, the story of Quetzalcoatl, a name familiar now to even the most illiterate tourist. The myth of the fair God, the bringer of culture, the Prometheus of the Toltecs and Aztecs, is worthy of being told and retold. The present writer, Francis Rotch, has told the story for boys, and has told it well. I tried the book out on a twelve-year-old, and it gave entertainment and a satisfactory account of the myth. An added value of this book is the fact that it has an excellent glossary of Toltec words with a key to their pronunciation. The book is admirably illustrated by John F. Clymer, and the printing is up to the standard of that excellent publishing house of the Caxtons. This book will delight and instruct not only the young but also those who have not yet looked into the religion of a great but forgotten people.

CHARLES A. HAWLEY.

# Correspondence

### Sunderland Memorial

Editor of UNITY:

Friends of the late Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland have been awaiting a favorable time for the establishment of a Sunderland Memorial. The committee, of which I am the chairman, and which numbers in its membership Dr. Frederick M. Eliot, Dr. Franklin S. Southworth, Dr. Minot Simons, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Sydney B. Snow, Dr. Taraknath Das, Dr. Haridas Muzumdar, Dr. Anup Singh, Professor Edson R. Sunderland, and other distinguished Americans and Hindus, proposes the establishment of a scholarship for a Hindu girl at Tagore's International University, the Vishwa Bharati.

No name in the Western world symbolizes for Hindus the courageous espousal of their aspirations toward democratic self-government more universally than that of Dr. Sunderland. He lives still in vital fashion in the Hindu mind as a hand of friendship extended by the democratic West to the awakening East.

The memorial will be a coöperative enterprise to which both Americans and Hindus will contribute. The sum necessary is modest. A capital of $5,000.00 would produce sufficient income to keep a student at the university continuously in the name of Dr. Sunderland.

If you are minded to pay this honor to a devoted and untiring servant of justice and democracy, and also, at the same time, demonstrate the concern of the West for the progress of the people of India, I will welcome contributions, large or small, sent directly to me.

JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP.

*50 Monroe Place,*
*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

## THE FIELD

(*Continued from page* 114)

own weapons of ideas, ideals and faiths" for "the establishment of the Poets' World of peace, pleasure and prosperity for everyone" flamed through each of the thronged sessions.

Let any who believe that "poetry is a dying art," that the poet is "an idle singer of an empty day," or that poetry does not offer practical dynamics and because of its brevity and concentrated passion a most valuable mechanism for social transformation, attend the next Congress! The merely economics-minded liberals who patronize the poets at best brand themselves hereafter as pitifully ignorant. No longer content only to write their social visions, those God has given "the gift of tongues" are now bearing to the public the vision without which the people perish!

### The Peace Army

JOSEPHINE M. COZENS

"What is peace?" "What would a world at peace be like?" These were questions that a small group of people in England found themselves concerned with some years ago. They were trying to get away from the idea of peace purely as a cessation of war, and they found it extraordinarily difficult, because history shows us only a world with intervals of comparative peace combined with preparations for fresh wars. A world at peace must be a world in which gallantry and difficulty and danger existed or peace would not be worth having. There must be a place for adventure, discipline, courage, sacrifice—all the glorious things that have been so often perverted to the uses of war.

Some of them felt that in a world at peace there would be peace armies—bodies of young men and women skilled in constructive work, who could be rushed to places where there was any kind of trouble to serve there, in the belief that where there is warfare it is possible and right for people to stand unarmed between the combatants and make an end of war. One of the first persons to try this method was St. Telemacrus, who flung himself into a combat in a Roman arena; he was killed in his attempt, but that was the last gladiatorial show which was held in Rome.

When there was fighting in Shanghai in 1932, three leaders of the Peace Movement, Dr. Dick Sheppard, Dr. Maude Royden, and Dr. Herbert Gray, volunteered to the League of Nations for service there and asked the League to send them and their followers. They were not successful and the "Army" was officially disbanded, but a few of its members were so gripped by the ideal of a Peace Army that they kept together and eventually reconstituted themselves. Dr. Maude Royden has recently become their president.

At the first approach it is difficult to see how a Peace Army could get to the scene of war. Modern fighting entails long-range guns, or attacks from the air, but there have also been several occasions recently when these conditions did not apply. In Shanghai the fighting was from side to side of a street. The Abyssinians withdrew from their frontier and left a gap of twenty miles of their territory between themselves and the Italians—a most peaceful act. In Palestine also the fighting had been localized. If in any of these cases a Peace Army had been on the spot it would have made the carrying on of the war a vastly more difficult business.

The Peace Army is working unceasingly to introduce the idea of soldiers of peace as a means of dealing with war, rather than soldiers of war, and is pressing it upon all governments. Dr. Lange, head of the Norwegian Delegation to the League of Nations, was so interested that he offered to discuss it with the Danish Delegation as well as his own.

Like other pacifist societies the Peace Army works among its individual members through groups. Many of the members have long distances to go to meetings, but the little groups are achieving a real group spirit and each member is in training as an individual Soldier of Peace. Behind the belief that members must train themselves in every way is the belief that the most fundamental part of all is the training of the spirit. It is the same with almost all pacifists today, whether they think of their approach to the question as religious or psychological. Perhaps the reason that we are not able to do more—for instance in Spain and other parts of the world where there is trouble—is that we are not ready for it yet. The Army is still in the early stages of its work. Side by side with its practical efforts goes the spiritual training, and in this is helped by the fellowship of other pacifists who are attempting the same training, trying to understand where understanding is most difficult, believing that where we cannot intervene with our bodies we can intervene with our spirits.

Seeing, as it does, the vast possibilities that lie before a world organization of Peace Armies, the Peace Army of Great Britain appeals to pacifists in the United States of America to form their own Army, and make their own contribution in this special way. Miss Gwen Paine, 63, Meadway, London, N. W. 11, England, is the Honorary Secretary of the Peace Army, and will gladly send further particulars and membership forms to any pacifists who are interested.

*Friends Intelligencer.*

### Summer Program in Community Church, Town Hall, New York

June 18—Unitarian Day. Mr. Frederick M. Eliot will speak on "The Power and Promise of Liberal Religion." Mr. Simons will conduct the service.

June 25—Mr. Raymond B. Bragg will preach on "Beyond Modernism."

July 2—World Faiths Sunday. Noted representatives of the great religions will speak in a service arranged by the World Fellowship of Faiths.

July 9—Mr. John Haynes Holmes will begin a series of sermons on the theme of "The Goals of Tomorrow's World." The subject this Sunday will be "Security—How May It Be Won?"

July 16—Mr. John Haynes Holmes. Subject: "Liberty—How May It Be Preserved?"

July 23—Mr. John Haynes Holmes. Subject: "Internationalism—How May It Be Established?"

July 30—Mr. John Haynes Holmes. Subject: "Science—How May It Be Controlled and Humanized?"

Aug. 6—Mr. John Haynes Holmes. Subject: "Religion—How May Its Ideals Be Applied To Life?"

Aug. 13—Mr. David Rhys Williams will preach on "Identifying the Reality Called God."

Aug. 20—Laymen's Sunday. Eminent lay speakers will present the message of liberal religion for our world.

Aug. 27—Rabbi Edward L. Israel will preach on "Modern Religion and Modern Atheism."

Sept. 3—Mr. Walton E. Cole's sermon will be on "Defending Ourselves Against Propaganda."

Sept. 10—Mr. Minot Simons will preach on "Personality and Freedom."